

Lincoln. h.149.

The Public

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Armed Neutrality

Amos Pinchot

The United States On Trial

Jenkin Lloyd Jones

Contents on Page 165

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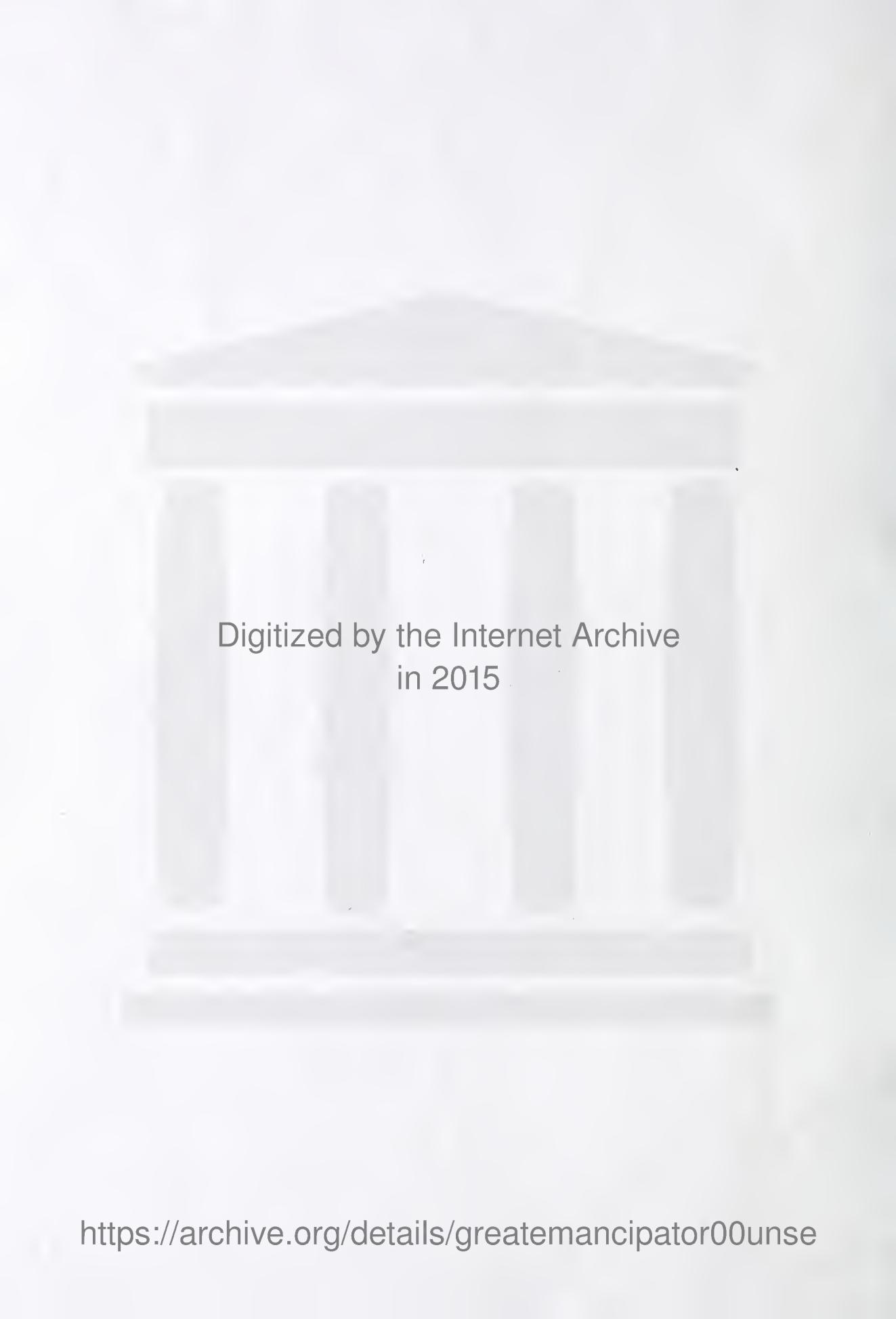
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German. Mr. Schaefer's testimony shows the Swiss system to be both oppressive and objectionable, and useless for any purpose other than strike breaking. American militarists have stated that the Swiss army is all that has saved Switzerland from the fate of Belgium. Mr. Schaefer makes clear the absurdity of that claim. They have represented the Swiss system as democratic. Mr. Schaefer shows it to be aristocratic. The militarists have said that the Swiss system is physically beneficial to the recruits. Mr. Schaefer tells how it promotes drunkenness and vice. The pamphlet should be distributed widely. The American Union Against Militarism is furnishing them from its headquarters in the Southern Building at Washington for five cents each, which barely covers the cost of production. The American people should be made to realize the deception practiced by those trying to force military slavery upon the country.

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What else is compulsory military service than a form of involuntary servitude? What greater enemy can there be to any nation than interests scheming to force its people into involuntary servitude? What is the proper term to apply to public servants who give aid and comfort to such an enemy? Why should not this term be applied to the members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs who have reported favorably on Senator Chamberlain's bill to enslave American citizens by forcing them against their will into military service? Some years ago the late David Graham Phillips wrote a series of articles entitled "The Treason of the Senate." He recorded much that deserved to be so designated, but none of it so much as this latest.

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Not satisfied with having saddled compulsory military service upon the State, reactionary members of the New York Legislature are planning to adopt the State Constabulary of Pennsylvania also. This was adopted in Pennsylvania by a legislature entirely under the domination of monopolistic interests. It is not so much a measure for preservation of the peace as one to make such preservation a State, instead of a local matter. The order which it would maintain is the order that prevailed in Warsaw. It is time that legislators gave more attention to

removal of injustice that breeds disorder, and less to forcible means of suppressing it.

The Great Emancipator.

It is altogether fitting that the people of this country should observe the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. His striking personality, his dramatic career, and his tragic death have been so idealized that he has come to stand for what we consider best in our national life. But varied as was the character of the martyred President, and numerous as are his claims to the regard of his kind, no other is as strong as that of liberating four million chattel slaves. The anomaly of slaves in a land dedicated to freedom had shamed many liberty loving men and women, but it fell to the lot of Lincoln to issue the proclamation that put an end to it.

It is with this, however, as with so many other things; too many persons observe the form, while forgetting the spirit. Lincoln saw in slavery the invasion by one man of another man's rights, and his whole nature rose against it. Himself a laborer who had earned his way by brawn and brain, he could not endure that one man should eat his bread in the sweat of another man's face. And when the exigencies of war made it possible for him, under the guise of a war measure, to sweep away chattel slavery, he did not hesitate to act.

But this again is form, and does not necessarily include all the substance of slavery. There are other ways in which some may eat bread in the sweat of others' faces. Crusoe, as owner of the island, could command the services of Friday as well as though he owned his body. And it has come about that the owners of this larger island, the Earth, command the services of their fellows much as the Southern planter once lived on the labor of his slaves. The tie is not so apparent; many do not believe there is such a connection; but, nevertheless, it is there. For, notwithstanding the enormous power that science and invention have put in the hands of labor, the vast majority of the working men and women of to-day get little more than bare food and shelter. And did not the slave get as much? It is not intended to convey the idea that wage slavery is as bad as chattel slavery, for the wage slave has at least the right of choosing his master; but it is intended to show that the abolition of chattel slavery, vassalage, and serfdom have not en-

abled the man who labors to command the full product of his toil.

Hence the new abolition movement, the movement to abolish legal privilege, the movement to prevent some men from eating their bread in the sweat of other men's faces. Where would Abraham Lincoln have stood on this question? What would have been his answer to the question, "Shall the value that the community confers upon land go to the community, or to the individual owner of the land?"

In the answer to that question lies the substance of the whole social problem of to-day; and it is in essence what the slavery question was before the Civil War. If the answer be, "To the owner of the land," then does he receive service for which he makes no return; and the state is compelled to tax the laborer for the support of government. But if the answer be, "To the community," then no other taxes will be necessary for the support of government, and the laborer will be able to retain the full product of his toil. Can there be any doubt as to the answer Lincoln would make? Is there any doubt as to what the answer should be of those who to-day laud him for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation? This is a good time for a little heartsearching by those who observe Lincoln's birthday.

S. C.

An Old Tariff Pleasantry.

The American Economist continues to contribute to the gaiety of nations with its explanations of how one can eat his cake and have it too. The editor expresses regret that American women have not learned more about the tariff, and proceeds to enlighten one who notes advertisements of goods made in this country that are cheaper to the amount of the duty, and asks "why the duty?" "The man [American] who buys a coat made of American cloth," the editor says, "contributes to the prosperity of the American sheep raiser, the American weaver and the American mill owner whose plant has been erected by American labor using American materials. In every case American money stays at home instead of being sent abroad to pay for things which we can make for ourselves."

The obvious answer to such a statement is that if the man who buys a coat were to make it himself he would have both the coat and the money. For if it be desirable to keep

the money in the country, how much more desirable is it to have the money in one's own pocket. But the economic strabismus that afflicts protectionists prevents them from seeing the obvious. They have an upside-down, or a wrong-end-to point of view; and so, like Alice in Wonderland, they furnish a world of amusement.

The protectionist sees things clearly, but is unable to combine them. Each object is separate and distinct, without relation to surrounding objects, much as a child might jumble the parts of a watch. If the American had bought his coat in England, he would have the coat and the Englishman would have the money. That much is true. And if the world were to come to an end at that moment the American sheep raiser would die with his wool on hand. But admitting the persistence of the world it is evident to persons who understand addition and subtraction that if the Englishman wished to sell a second coat to anybody he would have to get some wool; and as the American sheep raiser would be looking for such a man, it is entirely within the bounds of probability that the two would strike a bargain by which the money that went to England to pay for a coat would return to America to pay for wool.

Some protectionists have caught fleeting glimpses of this fact, but they hasten to explain that it would not do to permit individual citizens to follow their own desires; but that their actions should be guided by the wise men at Washington. This is another instance of economic strabismus. Congressmen are undoubtedly very wise, merely as wise men; but what do they know about making coats or raising sheep? Though a Senator may be wise enough to plumb the depths of profundity, how can he tell whether an American wishes his coat made in New York or in London. It is not unreasonable to expect Congressmen and Senators to protect Americans in gratifying their desires, and to do all that is possible to enable them to buy and sell where they please; but by what sort of topsy-turvy logic can they be justified in preventing or restraining Americans from buying and selling where they please?

S. C.

Plotting Against Freedom.

The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States is as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exer-